



# LUCIFER.

## THE LIGHT-BEARER.

THIRD SERIES, VOL. VII., NO. 50.

CHICAGO, ILL., DEC. 17, E. M. 303. [C. E. 1903.]

WHOLE NO. 1000

### CAUTION.

To the States, or any of them, or any city of the States: *Resist much, obey little;*

Once unquestioning obedience, once fully enslaved;

Once fully enslaved, no nation, state, city, of this earth, ever afterward resumes its liberty.

—Walt Whitman.

### New York Partly Awake.

The John Turner mass meeting at Cooper Union on Thursday evening, Dec. 3, was a decided success. The large hall was crowded. John Sherwin Crosby presided. The speakers were: The Hon. John De Witt Warner, Congressman Robert Baker, Ernest H. Crosby and Henry Frank. Among the vice-presidents were: Felix Adler, William H. Baldwin, Jr., W. Franklin Brush, James Byrne, Horace E. Deming, Henry George, Jr., Professor Franklin H. Giddings, James K. Paulding, E. W. Ordway, Joseph M. Price, Charles M. Higgins, William Jay Schieffelin, Carl Schurz, Judge Samuel Seabury, Henry D. Sedgwick, Jr., Charles Sprague Smith, Charles B. Spahr, Oswald G. Villarde, C. W. Watson, R. W. G. Welling, Horace White, Mornay Williams and the Rev. Leighton Williams.

The papers, most of them, could not see what was coming. In spite of this list of names of prominent citizens—some of them very prominent citizens—only two papers this side the Brooklyn bridge printed an advance notice of the meeting. These were the News and the Evening Post. One of the others, the most vociferous friend of "labor," printed, a few days before, one of the dirtiest conceivable "reports" of a committee meeting at Dr. Foote's. The great meeting revealed to it its tactical error, and it hastened to say that "surprisingly large was the meeting" and "very prominent were the names of many of the men who consented to serve as presidents." The papers, with possibly one exception, have found there is an issue that cannot be ignored, and reports, interviews and editorials are now quite numerous. So far as I have seen up to this date the Evening Post, the News and the Brooklyn Eagle have spoken for fair play and the better traditions of the republic. Hostile editorials have appeared in the Tribune, the Times, the Commercial Advertiser and the Mail and Express.

At the meeting, letters from Edward M. Shepard, William Lloyd Garrison, from Mr. Turner himself, and from others were read amid thunders of applause. Ernest H. Crosby and John De Witt Warner surpassed their usual best, and that is saying very much. Every speaker was in deadly earnest, and sincerity is the soul of eloquence.

Vital printed matter is in course of preparation; other meetings are to be held, here and in other cities; the case is going to the Supreme Court, and the Congress will be besieged to repeal the thought-strangling sections of the immigration law. All this legal and educational work requires money. Every step taken expends labor and labor must be fed. The treasurer of the Free Speech League is Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., 120 Lexington avenue, New York City. Join the league—only \$1 a year—and send additional sum if you can. The active and most efficient secretary is A. C. Pleydell, 175 Broadway, New York City. Write to him and let him know what you can do to arouse the people of your town, city or state. First of all, get a good statement of the

merits of the Turner case into your local paper or papers. Write this statement yourself or furnish the editors with material which Mr. Pleydell will send to you if you ask him.

EDWIN C. WALKER.

244 West One Hundred and Forty-third street, New York.

I do not know Mr. Turner; nor do I know anything of his speeches, writings or beliefs, except as they appear in the proceedings against him. They have now resulted in the order of a cabinet officer of our republic that he be excluded by force from our country for believing in a theory of human society different from that held by you and me and the great majority of Americans and other civilized men, and in a decision of a federal court that there is no judicial power to interfere with that order. To my mind, the order of Secretary Cortelyou is thoroughly un-American, and is dangerous to the future prosperity and dishonors the true and useful glory of our republic.

It seems to me to be clear that the word Anarchist, as used in the law, did not refer to the philosophic and peace-loving belief held by Mr. Turner. He believes, as I understand, and as the judicial record fairly implies, that humanity would be better off without government dependent upon force. The statute, as I conceive it should be interpreted, referred rather to a disposition and will on the part of the foreign visitor or immigrant to use force or advise others to use force against organized government. The statute does, indeed, refer to "persons who believe in the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States or of all governments and of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials." This part of the statute is not well phrased; but the word "believe" as here used I understand to refer to an effective disposition and will to use force, and not to any philosophic creed.

I take it we must all approve the exclusion of those who come here to use force themselves or to advocate the use by others of force or violence to overthrow any part of our government, or any kind of murder, high or low. The decree against Mr. Turner is based solely, however, upon the provision for the exclusion of Anarchists, a provision never intended, I believe, to apply to those who hold philosophic and high-minded, even if impracticable, theories of human society, and do not threaten or urge violence. My fault-finding, therefore, is not so much with the statute, except that its phraseology is not clear, as it is with the application made of it by the national executive. That application I regard as un-American, high-handed, tyrannical and stupid.

In the brief submitted to Judge Lacombe in behalf of the government, no assertion, not even a hint, is made against Mr. Turner's character. He is not accused of desiring or seeking violence. The whole charge is that he has called himself an Anarchist. The able contention of his counsel is not disputed that he is an Anarchist only in the sense of those who believe that peace and virtue and happiness do not need the exercise of governmental force.

The sole defense of the government is that Mr. Turner "disbelieves in all organized government." Secretary Cortelyou applies a statute evidently intended to exclude persons who threaten violence or murder, to the case of a man merely holding in his own conscience and mind, and who in the freedom of his own England has expressed, a belief that human progress and safety do not need the aid of armies or police. . . . I must frankly say that the action of Secretary Cortelyou seems to me to have been only of a piece with much else indicating a temper in our

administration, and possibly (though I believe not) for a time dominant in American life, of hostility to freedom and favoring those narrow, arbitrary, obstructive, militaristic theories of public administration against which the very birth of our republic was a protest; theories which all countries, as they have grown more intelligent and more prosperous, have left behind.

Is it not intolerable that our government should admit freely a man who believes in despotism, religious persecution, or who supports polygamy (for mere belief in polygamy does not exclude), but that, on the other hand, men should be excluded for holding doctrines long preached and even practiced by many of the Quaker and other sects greatly respected by us all—doctrines held to-day by Tolstoi—doctrines the very holding of which implies a certain nobility and generosity of temper and faith? For me those beliefs are as yet impracticable and unsound; but I am far from saying or believing that they are more impracticable than much of the doctrine formulated in the Sermon on the Mount.

Has not America, has not civilization, come to everything now dear to them, to everything upon which their civilization and happiness depend, through the triumph of beliefs which were once odious and once treated as criminal, and for which men were deported and even burnt and crucified? Because Mr. Turner's belief is very far from mine, who am I that I shall say that, in the ages to come, he shall not be found right and I wrong?

Are we to envy England the glory of her freedom? Are we not rich that the archives of our State Department hold the drafts of the noble dispatches we sent to Austria when she was displeased with our courtesy to Hungarian exiles? Must we in the twentieth century envy England the replies made in the middle of the nineteenth century by Lord Palmerston to Louis Napoleon and to other monarchs of continental Europe who would reduce the liberty of thought and speech in England—replies ever since steadfastly sustained by the English government and English sentiment? Are we not to serve better, rather than worse, the cause of human freedom than the nation, once our oppressor, to which we sent the Declaration of Independence as an affirmation by America of a sound, sober, safe policy of public administration for all time to come? Is it credible that in our day and in our land there should be found men in places of great power who do not see that nothing is so conservative, nothing so safe as an absolute liberty to think and to speak and to write, so long as there is no urgency or invitation to vice or to violence?

I earnestly hope that the meeting at Cooper Union will demand that the statute shall be so modified as to make it clear that no belief shall exclude any man from our land, except as it shall form part of an intention to promote crime or vice or violence. I hope that the meeting will go further, and, assuming—as I think it ought to assume—that no such thing as this deportation of Mr. Turner was ever intended by Congress, declare that his deportation or any other interference with peaceful freedom of belief by the executive authority is a high-handed offense against American right, American law, American conscience, American order and American freedom.—Edward M. Shepard, in letter read at Cooper Union meeting.

I shall be grateful if you will convey to the Free Speech League, as also to all those who have in any way assisted, my very high appreciation of their efforts in my behalf. But while I am quite unable to adequately express how I value their personal feeling of friendship, I am still more concerned that the whole force of public opinion shall be brought to bear with a view to abrogating this law under which I was arrested and am now detained for deportation.

That is the question of principle to keep steadily in sight, and my personality is only incidental to it. Whether I am deported or not makes very little difference, but the safe and permanent establishment of this measure means the beginning of an era of attempted suppression of opinion which would menace every minority in the United States.

What is there about America that can cause it to fear the ideal of one who in Great Britain and Ireland, France or Belgium, remained unmolested? Is the new democracy more fearful of opinions than the older European countries? I hope, for the credit of the United States, honest opinion will not be permanently barred out by ill-conceived legislation, and that lovers

of liberty will not rest till they have again placed America among those liberal countries which do not use political discrimination against the stranger at their gates.—John Turner, in letter to Mr. Pleydell, read at Cooper Union.

It is generous of Mr. Turner to suffer persecution voluntarily that citizens of the United States may test the constitutionality of the law against free speech and free thought as well. If the methods of Russia and Turkey are to prevail here, the sooner we know it authoritatively through the Supreme Court the better. By this self-sacrifice we shall learn definitely whether or no we are to wear shackles extemporized for us by imperialism in a season of national hysteria. Free expression is a danger to tyrants, and stifling individual opinion is the first step from democracy to despotism. Against this manifest tendency let every lover of liberty protest.

"Now, while the padlocks for our lips are forging,  
Silence is crime."

—William Lloyd Garrison, in letter read at Cooper Union.

Early in American history, there was a popular uprising against the alien and sedition laws, which seem to me to have been less arbitrary, less insidious, and less of a menace to freedom of thought and speech than is the present procedure of the Department of Commerce, as is illustrated in the Turner case. Since the time of the "English star chamber" proceedings, I know of no more flagrant case of imprisoning and deporting a person without giving him an opportunity for a fair trial and without any other evidence against him than vague suppositions as to what his theories and beliefs are.—Alfred J. Boulton, in letter read at Cooper Union.

The opinions of Mr. Turner I do not know, but that is not the question. The issue is whether any man's opinion should bar him from our shores. The misuse of such power begins with any use of it.—Thomas C. Hall, in letter read at Cooper Union.

The legislation against which we protest is of an atrocious class. The bill is a badly drawn document, and it would be easy to demonstrate how ridiculous are its inconsistencies. But it is too serious a matter. One might as well discuss the etiquette of murder as to criticize the rhetoric of such an act as this. . . . Thousands upon thousands of voters in Western States, thousands of peaceable citizens, married here, acquiring homes and building up the country, are at the mercy of reptile informers, inspired by officious zeal, paid by personal enemies, or subsidized by foreign governments to counteract the immigration of their citizens, and they may at any time be taken from their work, their friends, and their families, and, if condemned in secret trial, deported thousands of miles to the country they left.—John DeWitt Warner, in address at Cooper Union.

### Comments of the Press.

One of the speakers at the Cooper Union meeting said he feared that Americans have forgotten what liberty means. He called attention to the significant absence from the meeting of the clergy, leading merchants, judges, the Mayor, the patriotic sons and daughters of this, that and t'other—the representatives of that element of society which calls itself "better" and claims a monopoly of virtue and patriotism—and he charged them all with being recreant to the faith of their fathers. The indictment was severe, but it was a true bill. Except a few earnest men and women on the platform, there was hardly a sprinkling of old-fashioned Americans in the hall. As one of the morning papers said, with half a sneer, the audience "was recruited mainly from the lower East Side." Perhaps that is why most of them deemed it safe to report the meeting falsely and to assert in stupid headlines that it was a demonstration in defense, favor and support of Anarchists and Anarchy.

It was such a meeting as might have been held in New York more than a century ago to protest against the alien and sedition laws, or in Boston before that to denounce the tyranny of an English king. It was called in defense of the fundamental rights of the American citizen, the rights of free thought, free speech, and public trial by judge and jury under the forms and safeguards of the common law. It was a meeting called to protest against and demand the repeal of a law so invasive of those American rights as to wring from the indignant John DeWitt

Warner this startling challenge to authority: "We will resist to the death our government, or any other government, that attempts to penalize free thought and free speech by enforcing such a law as this."

The audience was earnest, alert, intelligent. It knew what ideas such names as Guizot, Reclus, Thoreau, Emerson and Spencer stand for, and quickly appreciated the slightest allusions to them. More than all, that audience knew the meaning of "administrative process," knew what dangers to the citizen lie in any curtailment of the right of free speech, and had a living, human grasp of those principles and ideals which have become mere academic platitudes to too many of us. Curious, is it not? While Americans are prating solemnly of the evils of immigration and devising barriers to keep aliens out of the country, the immigrants are defending American principles, keeping alive the American ideal and jealously guarding American rights from invasion by the perverted machinery of American government.—Daily News (New York).

The ability of the anti-Anarchist clauses of the immigration law to make martyrs to free thought is being signally illustrated in the agitation that has arisen in New York City over the deportation of John Turner, the English labor organizer. The mass meeting in Cooper Union to protest against the government's act was the scene of a great gathering of earnest people, who believe that Turner's deportation would be essentially an act of stark tyranny, unjustified by any condition and utterly opposed to the principle of free speech, and especially of free thought, upon which the American republic was founded. Whether Congress will heed the protest, in case the United States Supreme Court sustains Judge Lacombe, may depend entirely upon the amount of popular feeling aroused. The labor unions of America, to whose work and principles Mr. Turner has been devoted, might take up this affair to good advantage and press it upon the attention of Congress. . . . The long struggle for intellectual liberty, from the Middle Ages down to the opening of the nineteenth century, stands for too much agony and sacrifice in human history to be repudiated in our own time. The principle won at such great cost cannot be attacked without arousing a violent protest, of which the Cooper Union meeting was but the first sign. . . . It should not be forgotten, in any consideration of this case, that protection for the Anarchist who preaches violence and assassination of rulers is not demanded by any one. That section of the new law which is exciting protest, and under which it is proposed to deport Mr. Turner, provides for the deportation of any alien who "disbelieves" in organized government. Mr. Turner, like Tolstoi and Kropotkin, never in his life suggested or advocated violence or assassination, yet, like those two celebrated men, he does "disbelieve" theoretically in organized government. His intellect has honestly brought him to that conclusion, which stands for an ideal. Is it not a mistake and a violation of the spirit of our institutions to drive this man from the country because of an honest belief in academic anarchy, peaceably held? . . . The conclusion cannot be avoided that in prohibiting the presence in this country of men simply because they "disbelieve" in the government which exists in this stage of civilization, Congress acted without realizing the effect and bearing of its legislation.—Springfield (Mass.) Republican.

As we have already pointed out, Mr. Turner was arrested in true Russian style, while making an address upon trades unionism at a hall in this city. The sole reason for the interference of the federal authorities, by direction of Secretary Cortelyou, was some speeches which Mr. Turner had delivered in England, and to which the British authorities had never deemed it worth while to pay any attention. . . . If there is one ideal associated with the history of the United States it is the right to free thought and free speech. There was no other motive behind the coming of the Pilgrims than the desire freely to worship as they pleased. . . . The country has recognized that free speech is the best safety-valve in any free land. It has hitherto always declined to follow the example of the French republic in punishing men for their political views. . . . The truth is that the statute as now worded, whether intentionally or because of carelessness, savors of the Middle Ages, of the days of religious intolerance and persecution, and is a blot upon the country's good name. It

puts sweeping powers into the hands of a government official which he ought never to possess, and cannot be trusted with, as Secretary Cortelyou has shown. It will inevitably bring with it a system of espionage at home and abroad. It involves already deportation after a secret hearing in which the accused man is made the main witness against himself; and from the decision of a commissioner he has no appeal save to a cabinet officer. The wrong is plainly so monstrous that Congress cannot refuse to amend the law so that it shall apply only to those persons who come here advocating the commission of violent crimes.—Evening Post (New York).

Where are the workingmen? How many unions have discussed the case of Mr. Turner? One. The Central Labor Union—and it voted that it could not afford to help him! Could not afford to help a unionist! It was afraid of being contaminated. How many workingmen know about this case? We have interrogated a great many. "Oh, yes; I saw Mr. Turner's name mentioned in the papers as being arrested." "What! Turner, the Anarchist? They sent him back to England, didn't they?" And that was all they knew about the outrage on their champion. In the speech, after making which Mr. Turner was arrested, the reporters claimed that his utterances were incendiary, inasmuch as he said that within ten years there would be a strike beside which all other strikes have been infants' efforts. Mr. Turner is mistaken. The workingmen are asleep to stay. Sleeping men do not think, and the workingmen are asleep as far as all the vital principles of liberty in this country are concerned. Once in a while they wake up and break some comrade's head and then go to sleep again. They are in the brute force stage, and are met with brute force, and they always lose in the end because they can be hired to club and shoot and arrest their comrades. The institutions of society are in no possible danger from them. Mr. Turner can be safely turned loose.—Truth Seeker (New York).

It seems probable at the present writing that, as a result of the attempt of the government to deport John Turner, the constitutionality of the law under which the attempt is made will be passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is to be hoped that the case of the defense will be adequately presented. In my view the only hope of overturning the law lies in the argument that it is in conflict with the spirit of the constitution, for I consider it almost certain that the higher court will decide, as did the lower court, that it does not conflict with the letter. As it could not in any case be in the power of Congress to pass effective laws limiting the freedom of speech of persons not residing within the jurisdiction of the United States, it is hardly to be supposed that the framers of the constitution intended to forbid such legislation, of the possibility of which they never could have dreamed. But, on the other hand, it is still less to be supposed that, in framing a constitution for a land whose earliest settlers came here from foreign shores in search of freedom to speak, they intended to make it possible to prevent others from following this example. Turner's lawyers should build their case on this contention.—Liberty (New York).

It is not generally known that the new anti-Anarchist law not only authorizes the deportation of aliens disbelieving in organized government, but provides long terms of imprisonment for American citizens inviting such aliens to these shores. If I were to invite a friend John Henry Mackay to this country to pay me a social visit, I could be imprisoned for years under this law. But John Henry Mackay, residing in Berlin, can invite me to visit him there without danger of interference on the part of Emperor William, provided always that during my sojourn I do not speak with unseemly levity of the emperor's mustache. Which is the freer country, the United States or Germany?—Liberty (New York).

While the unwisdom of officialism is daily illustrated, the argument for each proposed new department sets out with the postulate that officials will act wisely. After endless comments on the confusion and apathy and delay of government offices, other government offices are advocated. After ceaseless ridicule of red-tape, the petition is for more red-tape.—Spencer.

Verily, thou art either working man, beggar man, or thief; for, except ghost, there is naught else for man to be.—Carlyle.

# Lucifer, the Lightbearer

M. HARMAN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

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## LUCIFER: ITS MEANING AND PURPOSE.

LUCIFER—The planet Venus; so called from its brightness.—Webster's Dictionary.

LUCIFEROUS—Giving light; affording light or the means of discovery.—Same.

LUCIFIC—Producing light.—Same.

LUCIFORM—Having the form of light.—Same.

The name Lucifer means Light-Bringing or Light-Bearing, and the paper that has adopted this name stands for Light against Darkness—for Reason against Superstition—for Science against Tradition—for Investigation and Enlightenment against Credulity and Ignorance—for Liberty against Slavery—for Justice against Privilege.

Hereafter Lucifer will not be sent to subscribers after expiration of subscription except by special request. Please compare number on your wrapper with whole number of paper, and if your subscription is about to expire let us hear from you if you want to continue to receive Lucifer.

## Notes of Travel.

OAKLAND, Cal., Dec. 9, 1903.

"Speech is silvern, but silence is golden," saith the proverb. For some weeks past I have occupied but little of Lucifer's space. Having arranged to give a short lecture course in San Francisco, I thought it best to concentrate the little energy I possessed upon making these lectures a success and depend upon others to do the writing for Lucifer's columns. That our readers have little or no cause to regret this arrangement I have good reason to believe. Now that this lecture course is ended I once more ask a share of the weekly space in our old yet ever young Light Bringer.

First, I wish to say a few words in regard to California as a health resort in winter—or fall and winter. It is just one month since I landed in San Francisco, having reached that city on the evening of Nov. 9. As most of our readers know, winter is the wet season in California, and notably so in San Francisco. It so happened that the wet season began simultaneously with my arrival on this coast, and for two weeks or more there were almost no dry days. Often, too, when there was no rain the fogs in San Francisco were sufficient to shut out the sun and make the invalid regret having left so soon the almost perpetual sunshine of New Mexico and Arizona. The two weeks last past have, however, made amends, and most of the days have been bright, sunny and pleasantly warm, though the nights have been cool enough for overcoats, heavy blankets and fires in sitting rooms.

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Speaking of New Mexico, I am reminded of a promise made to many friends in that land of sunshine, of pure air and pure water, to make further mention of the fact that health-seekers, living in the Eastern States, and in the great "Middle West," need not cross the continent to find these prime conditions of a first-class health resort in greatest perfection. Added to these advantages should be mentioned the fact that flesh-eaters can have beef and mutton direct from the alfalfa pastures, instead of from the slaughter-pens of the great cities, to which pens they have been brought many hundreds and even thousands of miles in stock cars, packed like sardines in a box, deprived of food, of water, of exercise and even of the privilege of lying down. Vegetables and many fruits grow to great perfection in New Mexico, so that the vegetarian does not need to depend upon cold storage and long carriage for his supply of these necessities of life.

Of the three stops in New Mexico—at Las Vegas, Albuquerque and Socorro—it is difficult to decide which interested me most, as a health-seeker. Each has advantages peculiar to itself. The first named is the farther north and occupies the higher ground. The second is medium as to latitude and altitude, and consequently has less variation of temperature winter and sum-

mer. The last named is farthest south, and much lower in altitude, hence has more summer and less winter.

As to sunshine and dryness, Albuquerque stands pre-eminent, not only among New Mexican cities, but, according to the editor of the Journal-Democrat of that city, pre-eminent among all the inhabited sections of the United States—as shown by carefully kept records. As to population, business, wealth and political influence, Albuquerque is easily the metropolis of New Mexico, and on these accounts will probably attract more health-seekers than either of the other places named. As yet there is no large sanitarium located here and no pleasure resort, such as the Montezuma Hotel, near Las Vegas, was designed to be, but in the way of hotels located near the Santa Fe depot and business center Albuquerque is fairly well supplied. A week's stop at the Highland Hotel, located, as the name indicates, on high ground, and convenient to the railway station, convinced me that the host and hostess of this hotel understand their business and do their best to make their guests feel at home, and for a temporary stopping place, or even for a longer sojourn, the Highland Hotel, of which S. R. Symonds is proprietor, is hereby recommended to the readers of Lucifer who may be traveling in New Mexico for health, business or pleasure.

At Socorro is located the School of Mines for the territory, and while I have little faith in the plan of educating people at the expense of the taxpayers, it would seem right and proper that attention be paid to the best methods of mining and of extracting metals from the native ores, in a country largely dependent on mines. In company with an old friend and subscriber I had the pleasure of a drive out to this school, and of making the acquaintance of its professors, and of examining its various departments, laboratories, etc. Socorro is one of the oldest towns in New Mexico, and possesses great advantages as a health resort, also as to its opportunities for business enterprises. Any reader of Lucifer who may feel interested in learning more of this city, the most southern point visited while on my trip to the Pacific Coast, can obtain reliable information by addressing J. H. Hilton, one of our subscribers at Socorro, N. M.

My trip through Arizona, another land of perpetual sunshine, was made without stop and mainly by night, so that I cannot speak with such confidence as of New Mexico of its advantages as furnishing opportunities for getting and keeping well. As to scenery, while much of what I saw was grandly beautiful there was too much of the desolate and barren to make Arizona very desirable for permanent homes or even as temporary stopping places. South of the line of the Santa Fe, however, I am told, there are many flourishing settlements, famous for health and for building beautiful and desirable homes.

As a land of unlimited possibilities, however, California seems to exceed anything I have seen since leaving Chicago. San Francisco, with its suburbs, Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, Fruitvale, and a few others, is doubtless the most wonderful city on the continent, especially when we consider the changes wrought in the comparatively small area within the past thirty or forty years. The population of San Francisco and its suburbs is now believed to exceed half a million human beings, while the buildings and other improvements are on a scale of magnificence and beauty scarcely surpassed anywhere in the western world.

Speaking of the possibilities of California, I have just been made acquainted with the groundwork of an individualistic co-operative enterprise, to be located within two hours' ride by rail from San Francisco, that impresses me as very practicable if the right kind of people can be got together. There are nearly four hundred acres in the tract, water and timber, with bearing fruit-trees, vines, buildings, etc., one mile from a railroad station. Any one wishing further information in regard to this enterprise can address me at San Jose, Cal., care 126 South McLaughlin avenue.

Having taken so much space with the introduction to what I meant to say as to the reception accorded me by the people of San Francisco, I must close for this week, hoping in my next to give some account of the western metropolis—of business enterprise and of progressive thought, also of the three lectures I was permitted to give at Memorial Hall, Odd Fellows' Building, San Francisco.

M. HARMAN.

What sense is there in paying the bills of another world while living in this? We can live in but one world at a time, and it is the heaven of this life that we should seek and the hell of this life that we should shun.—Boston Investigator.

## San Francisco Protests.

The following resolutions were adopted at a meeting at Memorial Hall, Odd Fellows' Building, San Francisco, Nov. 29:

"Resolved, That we, citizens of San Francisco, do hereby protest against the unjust and arbitrary action of the Third Assistant Postmaster General, E. C. Madden, in proposing to strike from the list of papers receiving second-class rates *Lucifer*, the *Light-Bearer*, published by Moses Harman of Chicago, and *Freedom*, published by Helen Wilmans of Seabreeze, Fla., as an unwarranted encroachment upon the rights of free speech and free press, and therefore a denial of constitutional rights.

"Resolved, That a committee appointed by the president of the evening sign these resolutions and forward a copy to the Third Assistant Postmaster General, E. C. Madden."

The resolutions were signed by a committee composed of Scott Briggs, 132 McAllister street; S. H. Tarr, 217 Parrott Building, and C. V. Cook, 384 Dolores street.

The hall was well filled and the expression of protest apparently unanimous.

Copies of the following letter of protest were circulated and unanimously signed by those present in the hall, which copies will be sent to the Third Assistant Postmaster General:

"San Francisco, Cal., Nov. —, 1903.

"Mr. Madden, Third Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.—Dear Sir:

"We the undersigned desire to enter our protest against the action of the United States Postoffice Department in attempting to deprive the papers, *Lucifer* the *Light-Bearer*, published by Moses Harman of Chicago, and *Freedom*, published by Helen Wilmans of Seabreeze, Fla., of the privileges of second-class registration.

"Yours respectfully,

M. HARMAN.

## Tess and Other Women.

A good friend whom I have never seen, noting my queries published in No. 995, has sent me back numbers of *Lucifer*—with a prescience quite marvelous—to the very date of my being obliged to forego it. Now my spare minutes are given to reading up; as they are rare, I've not got very far yet. But I owe the sender gratitude for the mental feast he has provided me.

In the first place, in these papers, I am struck by the vivacity and logical force of the writings of *Lucifer's* new correspondent, Lena Belfort. Her plea for a new literature, a literature more true to life and in line with our vigorous young ideals, comes at a time when it is needed. Would that it might be heeded! And her answer to George Brown's nonsense about Hardy's Tess, and women generally and generically, was strong and to the point. If I did not know George Brown to be a good fellow and a lovable one, I should let his utterances pass as nothing more than the stock chatter of the every-day trolley-car phillistine, and forget them. As it is, I become indignant again, for the —th time, at this glib talk of "prostitutes" and "the chaste woman." It seems to me that if I were a man, feeling as men do, as I have heard George Brown say he thinks, that the prostitute is necessary to men: if I used her myself: if this were the case, it seems to me that bare decency would forbid my speaking ill of this creature of my need. Nay, merely as a reasoning being, leaving sex out of the question, I do not vilify the vessel that serves my necessities.

It has always struck me as a pretty low thing for women to run down that caste called prostitutes; but at least we do not say, "We must have them"; we do not use them. Ah! I forget. We virtuous women (Brown would say *chaste* women, wouldn't he?) are preserved to our husbands, lovers, masters, by the prostitutes. Then I say "Shame!" to that man or woman who, living in comfort or in virtue at the expense of another's comfort or virtue, utters one word of blame of the one whose parasite he is. Which is the parasite? The prostitute, or that society which sucks her blood?

Now, I wish that my friend would give us an exact definition of the word *chastity*. Mind, I mean something positive that we may know it by when we see it. If it exists outside of Brown's "chaste" mind, of course, it can be defined. Of course, I know what the conventional, dyed-in-the-wool conservative means when he speaks of chastity. But what can a radical mean? What does the word mean to a man for whom the ceremony of marriage is a shibboleth? I wish Brown would tell us whether it is a quality or a condition; and then whether it applies to body, mind, or soul. It can scarcely be a quality; for qualities—of body, mind and soul—are desirable, or they are undesirable, irrespective of

sex. Brown implies that chastity in man is either undesirable or impossible—or at least different from chastity in woman. It cannot, then, be a quality. If it is a condition, it might, of course, be affected by sex, if a condition of body. Mental and spiritual conditions have not yet been determined by sex, I believe. If it is a physical condition, I should be very glad to know what it is. I do not pretend to deep physiological science. Will Mr. Brown kindly enlighten my ignorance?

Though I will not join in the vulgar hue and cry against those arbitrarily called prostitutes, still I do not wish to see their tribe increase; and I firmly believe that this loose talk about "chastity" does a great deal to keep up that false sentiment which creates real prostitution.

LAURA H. EARLE.

## The New Thought Convention.

After being one of Elbert Hubbard's "freaks" for some time and mingling with the constant stream of charmed and charming visitors to the much-overrated Roycroft Shop, I drifted into the Chicago convention, and found its atmosphere very pleasant and congenial.

Aside from the general interest in a "reformed Roycroftier," I met a fine spirit of comradeship and good-fellowship that spoke well for the New Thought people. Probably in no other gathering containing so many people of influence and high position did conventionality ever count for so little, and individuality have such free scope. Strangers from thousands of miles apart were mutually fused by the instinct of the occasion into the happy units of a family reunion.

The whole drift of New Thought teaching is in the direction of Individualism. It helps in the attainment of that personal poise and power that fits for release from all restraint. Before those who really live in its spirit, law is ridiculous and government absurd.

The world will hear from this convention and the people who composed it. It is the New Life—the charmed life, the full-orbed life—that is irresistible. It is immune from prison or injunction. Its smile is stronger than uniformed regiments; its silent thought more explosive than dynamite. The New Thought reformer, in any line, needs no revolutionary programme, no campaign of noisy invectives and denunciation. Kindly and sweetly he lives and works, and all the things that bind and bar humanity's rising love-tide vanish like the winter's ice before the coming spring.

All this was immanent and vibrant at the convention. That some of the people who created this spirit were not familiar with the avowedly Anarchistic forms of its expression helps to show its universality and power. The love of freedom is a growing love. Real New Thought people make good Anarchists.

C. L. BREWER.

## Socialism vs. the Single Tax.

To my recent fable designed to show the inadequacy of "equal opportunity" as a remedy for the economic injustice of the day, Bolton Hall appends a Single Tax sequel in *Lucifer* No. 998. In the fable, five men of unequal ability run a race under equal conditions, with their economic lives for a year as the reward, and the ablest man not only wins his own prize, but also possesses himself of the prizes rightfully belonging to the others. As a solution of the difficulty, Bolton Hall suggests that the winner be taxed by the losers to the full value of the wrongfully appropriated prizes.

The Single Tax position is therefore this: The winner has no right to the economic lives of his fellows, but so long as conditions allow him their possession, we will try to even up matters by taxing him so heavily that he will not really be a gainer after all.

Now the Socialist position is also that the winner has no right to the economic lives of his fellows, but it differs from the Single Tax position in maintaining that conditions which allow such wrongful possession are necessarily themselves wrong, and must be changed. In other words, it is foolish to try to even up the result of continually recurring unfair races, instead of arranging races that are fair from the start. Furthermore, to tax a robber is practically an admission of the righteousness of robbery. As was suggested in the before-mentioned fable, there is no just remedy but the handicap race, assuring to each individual his own economic life, and fully acknowledging his ethical right thereto.

ALEX. E. WIGHT.

## Equal Opportunities: A Fable.

A man who sought to serve all humankind deeply regretted the vicious antagonisms which prevented the members of the various sects of economic reformers from working harmoniously, unitedly, and thus intelligently and effectively.

Pondering in humility, and ever desirous of perceiving, receiving and considering, there was given unto this man the knowledge that, whilst the various camps of reformers were blindly worshiping crude devices of human creation, the real economic goal sought by all of them was the natural ultimatum of the universal principle of justice—viz.: access upon a basis of equality upon complying with like conditions.

Furthermore it was given to this man to perceive that, acknowledging the unquestioned accuracy of the foregoing fundamental fact, evolutionary and constitutional proposed laws could be drafted which, enacted into law by the suffrage of the people, would speedily permit and aid all humans to work out their economic salvation.

An ungentlemanly reformer who was sadly short in mental grasp and discretion, but blessed with a bountiful supply of real valor, blurted out a harsh curse upon the man who dared to disclose truth in its most practical form.

A profound thinker who had succeeded in forcing his broad intellect into the contracted rut of land reform via the Single Tax route as the only genuine and unquestioned economic panacea was so shocked at the crude assault of the ungentlemanly reformer that, to make amends, he assailed the newcomer with the illy planned, revolutionary and unconstitutional device, the taxation of land values, and slew him, like a gentleman should, according to the rules of approved warfare. Then all the Single Taxers chorused, Selah! and the false consistency of the adherents of the various economic divisions was successfully maintained.

MORAL.—The leaders of the various economic isms must close their mental vision to the reception or perception of any new harmonizing and practical disclosure; otherwise their distinctive occupation would vanish. The masses suffer and are debased through unnatural economic legislation, but the ignoble position of reform leaders must be upheld.

EDWARD STERN.

## Answers to Laura H. Earle's Questions.

"Does a sex attraction that is exclusively physical justify itself?" Whatever, and only whatever, is mutual is justifiable and right.

"And how does such a phenomenon explain itself in a person who recognizes the essential difference between this emotion and that of love?" Physical attraction is an essential part of love. There is no real, all-around love without physical attraction.

"Or are the two emotions only different aspects of the same great passion?" Physical attraction and whatever else composes love is part of the great passion called love—Love, the savior or savor of humanity.

"Does the gratification of the physical need blunt the perception for the more etherealized love?" If the two distinct methods of sex communion are understood and practiced the answer is a most decided no.

"And would the answers to these questions have the exact same application to both sexes?" I see no reason why the application would not be the same to both sexes.

SARA CRIST CAMPBELL.

## The Task of Voltaire.

Voltaire's task, however, was never directly political, but spiritual, to shake the foundations of that religious system which professed to be founded on the revelation of Christ. Was he not right? If we find ourselves walking amid a generation of cruel and unjust and darkened spirits, we may be assured that it is their beliefs on what they deem highest that have made them so. There is no counting with certainty on the justice of men who are capable of fashioning and worshiping an unjust divinity, nor on their humanity so long as they incorporate inhuman motives in their most sacred dogma, nor on their reasonableness while they rigorously decline to accept reason as a test of truth.—John Morley.

We are all of us, in the realm of religion, Anarchists.—Dr. Lyman Abbott.

## VARIOUS VOICES.

We are always glad to receive calls from friends visiting the city. Take the Lake street elevated, stop at Ashland avenue, walk one block east, then one block north. Or take Fulton street electric car west and stop at St. John's place, alighting in front of our house. The Lake street electric and Paulina street cars also pass within a block of our residence.

Alex. E. Wight, Wellesley Hills, Mass.: For the information of those government officials who are attempting to suppress Lucifer, I wish to state that I have been a paid subscriber for several years, and am now paid for at least one year in advance. I subscribe to Lucifer for two reasons: (1) because it advocates a most important social reform, and (2) because it avails itself more fully than any publication of which I know of such freedom of the press as is allowed to the papers of the United States. It is in the completest sense (aside from legal limitations) a people's forum.

F. E. Gorton, Fenton, Mich.: Please let me say that I have been a subscriber to and reader of Lucifer for several years, and had I been a reader of this journal when I was just entering manhood it would have been worth more than a thousand dollars to me. It was first recommended to me by Dr. E. B. Foote of New York, and I am grateful to him for so doing. Now, I would most heartily advise all young people to become readers of this journal. It treats of a subject that is tabooed but which is of great importance to all, and every young person who reads Lucifer carefully will thank me for recommending it.

C. L. James, Eau Claire, Wis.: I perceive that your article "Not a Case for the Hatchet" was a satire on the extract from Medical Talk, Columbus, O., headed "A Professional Monster." I see that because it immediately followed the extract and was so thoroughly adapted to expose it. There was no need for you to write, "This is sarcasm," as Artemus Ward would have done. We could see that without. Now, if you will go on clipping absurdities from quacks' organs, and adding to each a tag so very pertinent as that about Carrie Nation and the dentist, Lucifer will soon resume its former attitude of resistance instead of captivity to the Movement in Favor of Ignorance. Do not lose the opportunity!

Amicus, Springfield, Mass.: The Watch and Ward Society has lately secured the arrest of four prominent Boston booksellers for having in their possession Boccaccio's "Decameron," Margaret of Navarre's "Heptameron," and the works of Rabelais. The Watch and Ward Society will not increase its popularity by such ill-advised demonstrations against books that have a well-established standing in literature, even though, if its victims are convicted in courts, its treasury may benefit by a share of the fines imposed. These four booksellers, well-known Boston men, were treated with indignity. After a harsh arrest they were registered at the police station, and subjected to the Bertillon measurements for identification of criminals, and many newspapers have criticized the society for its action in the matter.

## The Assimilation of Poland.

It is 108 years since the final partition of Poland, at which time a great empire, consisting of 24,000,000 people with a brilliant history, high hopes, great institutions, and splendid possibilities, was ruthlessly carved and apportioned to Russia, Prussia and Austria, and Poland as a political entity ceased to be. Still the Polish people are much in evidence in the history of the world. They are yet to be reckoned with all over the globe, and still they are the perplexity of their conquerors. It requires a peculiar digestive apparatus for a country to digest and assimilate a conquered people. Prussia is most troubled with mal-digestion in this direction. Try as it will, it finds it hard to kill the Polish spirit, although it is almost a crime to think in Polish; to teach the Polish language has been absolutely prohibited, both in public and private schools; children are not allowed to converse in Polish on the playgrounds. Some two years ago some Polish children were brutally flogged because they refused to pray in the German language, and when the mothers interfered both children and mothers were cast into prison. A relief fund raised for the benefit of these prisoners has been interpreted as evidence of treason. Polish names of towns and villages are being rapidly changed into German. Polish bus-

ness men are prohibited from having their signs in Polish. A letter addressed in the language of the Poles must not be delivered. Vast sums of money are spent in trying to colonize Polish provinces with Germans. A monument to Bismarck has recently been unveiled in Posen. The same kind of tyrannies, though not so grievous, obtain in Russia. In the Austrian section of Poland alone are the representatives of this ancient and progressive people allowed their freedom. Truly, imperialism sets for itself hard tasks.—Unity (Chicago).

#### "WHO IS THE ENEMY?"

Dr. R. W. Shufeldt, biologist, author of several scientific works and of more than seven hundred articles on medicine, travel, science, sexual problems and other subjects, writes to E. C. Walker: "I thank you very much indeed for the copy you sent me of your valuable pamphlet, 'Who Is the Enemy: Anthony Comstock or You?' I have read it from cover to cover with the utmost satisfaction and unqualified approval. It is one of the best and strongest things you have put out, and I am with you solid in both the letter and spirit of it. I prize the copy most highly." Ask for table of contents and specimen pages of "Who Is the Enemy?" or send 20 cents to this office for the pamphlet.

Hugh O. Pentecost writes thus to Edwin C. Walker about the latter's new work, "Who Is the Enemy: Anthony Comstock or You?" "Your pamphlet is a strong discussion of the question at issue that one could give to a conservative friend with some hope that he might read it through."

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